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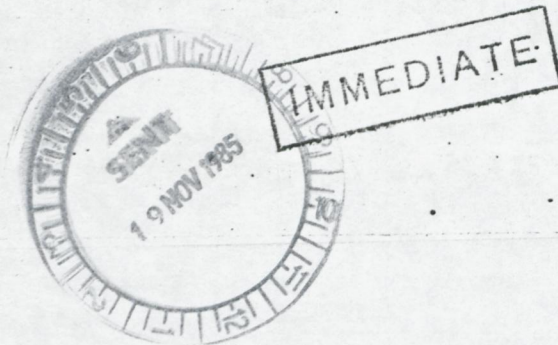
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INFO IMMEDIATE NIO (B), WASHINGTON AND BIS NEW YORK

MIPT: ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT: DAIL DEBATE: TAOISEACH'S SPEECH

1. THE TAOISEACH BEGAN HIS 50 MINUTE SPEECH BY APPEALING FOR THE DEBATE TO BE CONDUCTED "IN A CALM AND SERIOUS WAY", AVOIDING "PARTISAN OR PARTY POLITICAL COMMENTS" AND ESPECIALLY ANYTHING WHICH "COULD IN ANY WAY EXACERBATE FEARS OR AROUSE PASSIONS IN NORTHERN IRELAND". HE DISPOSED OF FIANNA FAIL'S AMENDMENT (PARA 2 OF MY TLNO 792) BY QUOTING DE VALERA AGAINST A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE. HE SPOKE OF THE "TRAUMA" OF NORTHERN NATIONALISTS FROM 1920 ONWARDS ("PART OF A STATE WITH WHICH THEY COULD NOT IDENTIFY"; "SECOND-CLASS CITIZENSHIP"), BUT ALSO OF THE SUFFERING OF UNIONISTS ("A SENSE OF FEAR LEADING TO A SIEGE MENTALITY"). THE TASK WAS "TO HEAL THESE DIVISIONS, TO REMOVE THE ALIENATION OF ONE COMMUNITY, AND TO STILL THE FEARS OF THE OTHER".

2. DR FITZGERALD THANKED MRS THATCHER "WHO, ONCE SHE BECAME CONVINCED THAT THE DIRECTION AND PATH SET OUT IN THIS AGREEMENT WAS THE RIGHT ONE TO FOLLOW, ENGAGED HERSELF COURAGEOUSLY AND WITH SUCH FULL COMMITMENT TOWARDS ITS SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION", SIR GEOFFREY HOWE AND "SUCCESSIVE SECRETARIES OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND". HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION TO THE RUC FOR "THE COURTEOUS AND EFFECTIVE SECURITY" AT HILLSBOROUGH AND THANKED FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS FOR THEIR SUPPORT.

3. DR FITZGERALD GAVE CREDIT TO MR HAUGHEY FOR FORMULATING THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL APPROACH TO BREAKING THE POST-SUNNINGDALE DEADLOCK AND INITIATING THE ANGLO-IRISH PROCESS WHICH HAS

THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL APPROACH TO BREAKING THE POST-SUNNINGDALE DEADLOCK AND INITIATING "THE ANGLO-IRISH PROCESS WHICH HAS CULMINATED IN THE AGREEMENT". HE DESCRIBED THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE 2(B) AS "GOING BEYOND A CONSULTATIVE ROLE, BUT NECESSARILY BECAUSE OF THE SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE FALLING SHORT OF AN EXECUTIVE ROLE". HE SAID THAT BOTH GOVERNMENTS SUPPORTED "THE POLICY OF DEVOLUTION OF CERTAIN MATTERS ON A BASIS OF POWER SHARING OR PARTICIPATION AT EXECUTIVE LEVEL", BUT THAT "EVEN IN THE EVENT OF DEVOLUTION THE CONFERENCE WILL STILL HAVE A WIDE RANGE OF FUNCTIONS CONCERNING MATTERS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO THE NATIONALIST MINORITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND". HAVING GONE THROUGH THE PROVISIONS OF BOTH THE AGREEMENT AND THE COMMUNIQUE, DR FITZGERALD STATED THAT THEY MUST "STAND ON THEIR MERITS. THERE ARE NO SECRET AGREEMENTS AND NO HIDDEN AGENDAS. WHEN WE STARTED THIS NEGOTIATION BOTH SIDES INSISTED THAT THIS WAS THE PRINCIPLE ON WHICH THEY WERE ACTING THE TRANSPARENCY OF THE AGREEMENT IS AN ESSENTIAL PREREQUISITE TO ITS FUTURE ACCEPTANCE BY THE PARTIES MOST ULTIMATELY AFFECTED". EMPHASISING THAT BOTH SIDES "ARE DETERMINED THAT THE AGREEMENT WILL WORK", DR FITZGERALD SAID THAT IT WAS "NOT AN END IN ITSELF", BUT "A FRAMEWORK FOR PROGRESS THE BEGINNING OF A DIFFICULT, AND - LET US FACE IT - EVEN DANGEROUS, PROCESS OF IMPLEMENTATION".

4. REVERTING TO ARTICLE 1 OF THE AGREEMENT, DR FITZGERALD AGAIN POINTED TO MR HAUGHEY'S 1980 COMMUNIQUE AS "THE STARTING POINT FOR THIS AGREEMENT" AND SAID: "THIS AFFIRMATION INVOLVES NO DIMINUTION OF THE NATIONALIST ASPIRATION" AND SO "OF ITS VERY NATURE CANNOT AFFECT OUR CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION". THE TAOISEACH DREW ATTENTION TO THE ABSENCE OF UNILATERAL STATEMENTS IN THE AGREEMENT, AND WENT ON TO DEMONSTRATE THE CAUSAL CONNECTION WITH THE PRINCIPLES ENUNCIATED IN THE FORUM REPORT. IT HAD BEEN THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S TASK TO SEEK HMG'S AGREEMENT "TO ONE OR OTHER OF THE STRUCTURES SET OUT IN PARAS 5.7 - 5.9 OF THE FORUM REPORT" OR, FAILING THAT, TO DISCUSS OTHER VIEWS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH PARA 5.10: "THE GOVERNMENT ADHERED LOYALLY TO THIS BRIEF". THE NEGOTIATIONS HAD BEEN LONG AND HIGH-LEVEL, REFLECTING "THE EXTREME COMPLEXITY OF THE ISSUES AT STAKE". HE HOPED THAT THE DEBATE WOULD NOT OPEN OUT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NATIONALISTS, AND URGED DEPUTIES TO "AVOID ANY WORD THAT MIGHT ENDANGER THE LIVES OF PEOPLE IN NORTHERN IRELAND BY CLAIMING THAT ANY KIND OF ADVANTAGE HAS BEEN OBTAINED THROUGH THIS AGREEMENT VIS-A-VIS THE UNIONIST POPULATION".

5. ADDRESSING UNIONISTS, THE TAOISEACH SAID THAT THEY WOULD SEE THAT IN ARTICLE 1 "WE REPUDIATE FORMALLY ANY QUESTION OF SEEKING THE UNITY OF THIS ISLAND OTHERWISE THAN WITH THE CONSENT OF A MAJORITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND". THE IRISH MOTIVATION IN SEEKING THE AGREEMENT HAD BEEN THE ENDING OF THE ALIENATION OF THE MINORITY BOTH FOR ITS OWN SAKE AND BECAUSE THIS WOULD LEAD TO "PROFOUND REJECTION" OF THE IRA. IT HAD "ONE PURPOSE ALONE: TO BRING PEACE AND STABILITY TO NORTHERN IRELAND AND TO PRESERVE PEACE THROUGHOUT THESE ISLEANDS".

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